194 the vowels. He investigated the type and frequency of the vowels in Lithuanian and German and found the following relationship: (19)

19. W. St. Vydūnas, see above p. 88.

a,	Lithuanian	5,	German	2
o	"	3	"	2
u	"	3	"	2
e	"	1	"	3
i	"	2	"	1

While in German the vowels a, o, and u are distributed equally, they predominate strongly in Lithuanian and give the language a different phonetic character. On the other hand, the e, which in German predominates, falls far into the background in Lithuanian. All in all, 14 Lithuanian vowels correspond to 10 German ones. Since the phonetic value of the individual vowels is different, we have here perhaps also one of the reasons why the Lithuanian language seems so dark in song.

195 /24/ C. The Development of the Lithuanian Literary Language

We can trace the development of the Lithuanian literary language back to Duonelaitis (cf. Chapter Five)†, although Lithuanian writings were printed before him. In 1735 even the Bible appeared in the Lithuanian language at the behest of the Königsberg General Superintendent Quant. The first Lithuanian Bible translation was written by Bretkunas between 1579 and 1590, but this work lies unprinted to this day in the university library at Königsberg. The language of the printed Lithuanian Bible does not breathe the spirit of the Lithuanian language like the Luther Bible that of the German. Always it is only the poet who is the creator of language. And Luther was also a poet. Moreover, the Lithuanian Bible translation is full

† [cat. 116, pp. 199-205-- Analyst]

•195 of Slavic elements. (20)

[113] 20. The oldest language monuments of Lithuanian from the year 1547 on have been published in Gerullis: Moswid, Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahre 1570, edited by Dr. Georg Gerullis, Indogermanische Bibliothek, Vol. II (Heidelberg, 1923).

195 197 After the middle of the last century Lithuanian literature awoke to a life of its own, and from that time on there developed a Lithuanian language which takes its expressive and formal content from the various Lithuanian dialects without, however, arriving immediately at exact and clear conceptual definitions. Difficulties resulted from the fact that a number of expressions of the language had taken on meanings colored by dialect, and partially even contrasting meanings, in the separate provinces. The first task consisted therefore in a unification and conceptual delimitation of the available vocabulary. This process has even today not yet fully been carried out, although it is essentially complete. Some of the differences between the former and present literary language is explained by this fact. From decade to decade Lithuanian literary language has been gaining expressiveness, force, and richness. But still it was in its nature a peasant language that had not caught up with the rapid Western development in science and technology.

/25/ A powerful impetus was given by the founding of the independent Lithuanian state. Three problems resulted for the further development of the literary language. The first problem consisted in freeing the language from the Slavic influences by which it was at times completely ruled -- this applies to whole provinces -- and to replace the formerly employed Slavic words with pure Lithuanian

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197 ones. This problem was capable of complete solution, since in the large vocabulary of Lithuanian everyday speech the necessary words or stems were available and only education of the people and enlightenment through the schools were needed. Moreover, the newly awakened national consciousness pushed the development forward. In addition, among the existing dialects of the Lithuanian language, which still stood side by side as equals and which are clearly reflected in their great variety in the earlier writings of the Lithuanian poets, there was the question of choosing one dialect -- as mentioned, the Suvalkijan dialect was picked -- and constructing on it the new literary language that would be valid for the whole land. This task ran into greater difficulties. Moreover there was danger that now, with the necessity of gradation, the rest of the dialects would be discredited and the language would thus lose much richness. For in every people the so-called literary language gains constantly new strength from its contact with the dialects.

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195 The enormous task of uniformly constructing and elaborating the new literary language was undertaken by the distinguished Lithuanian linguist Jablonskis, or as he called himself, Rygiškių Jonas. Born on January 12, 1861 on a farm east of the Šešupė, he attended the Russian gymnasium in Marijampolė, studied ancient languages in Moscow, and later taught at universities in various cities. After the founding of the Lithuanian University he was named Professor of the Lithuanian language. Jablonskis possessed on the one hand an excellent /26/ training in ancient languages and on the other hand stood in close touch with the simple country folk. He thus succeeded in comprehending the individuality of the Lithuanian language and in recognizing the foreign influences. The abundance of Lithuanian idioms that are distributed throughout his works is very great and shows us the full power and expressive possibilities of this

814 language. To be sure, Jablonskis was primarily a
195 grammarian and not an artist. Most important to him was simple clarity. But he always appreciated and welcomed also poets and thinkers taking part in the creation of the language, and never held back with his advice. (21)

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21. A brief appreciation of Jablonskis in German is given by Vydūnas: "Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache," Unsere Stimme (Tilsit), Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

195 The third problem* that had to be overcome
197 in the creation of the Lithuanian literary language, and that was perhaps the most important of all, was a question of transforming the Lithuanian language from a peasant language into an instrument with which even the educated, the artist, and the scientist would be able to work. In this connection it was first of all a matter of elaborating the vocabulary. This, then, will be considered first.

192 If we will look at the vocabulary of the Lithuanian language, we must first of all refute the widespread notion that the language is poor in words. A peasant language may appear poor in words to a representative of Western city culture; but it never has been, absolutely speaking. In its living organism there is an enormous ramification. This is true for the Lithuanian language as for every other peasant language. The countless skills of the peasant's work, the diverse nuances of the peasant's life itself, of which the typical city person no longer has any knowledge, all bear special terms. In addition there is a second group of words and word formations that stem from the antiquity of the Lithuanian language and find no parallel in modern Western languages. Every language develops just as much from complexity to simplicity as from /27/ simplicity to complexity. We describe the former as typification and general-

*[cat. 116, pp. 25-27 -- Analyst]

192 From the area of the mind, too, examples could be added. Let those mentioned here be enough to refute the story of the general paucity of words in Lithuanian. Further, the psychological difference between the Lithuanian and German languages is sufficiently indicated by what is said here. As early as the year 1800 it occurred to Mielcke in the preparation of his German-Lithuanian dictionary /29/ that "the concepts in the two languages are not constructed from the same characteristics and do not cover the same ground, and moreover if a Lithuanian word expresses the meaning of a German word, the connotations of each of these words are often at the same time extremely different." (23)

[113] 23. Christian Gottlieb Mielcke, Littauisch-deutsches und Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch (Königsberg, 1800), Preface, p. 4.

197 195 We thus see that the Lithuanian language, as a result of the working together of the most varied factors, represents a finely organized and rich organism. But this richness lies, apart from the formal elements, in the main in the area of things perceived through the senses, of the objective. For the further development of the Lithuanian literary language the most important problem thus turned out to be its elaboration for the areas of the spiritual and intellectual, i.e. of art, science, technology, etc. This problem was insoluble as long as the Lithuanian people as a clearly defined and spiritually homobeneous mass had been cut off from the Western European development by the barrier of the Russian boundary and Russian oppression. One cannot construct a world of concepts in new words where the knowledge and understanding of the concepts themselves do not yet exist among the masses. First of all a broader educated class must be created to be the bearer of this new world of words and concepts, from which the newly gained knowledge

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can flow in a thousand channels over the whole land. Thus the problem of the creation of the Lithuanian language was subordinate to a much greater problem: it was a question of the destiny of the Lithuanian people, who had remained many decades behind the rapid Western European development, to win a place in Western intellectual life. This, however, was in turn possible only through language; not through a small circle of educated individuals obtaining this place by recourse to one world language or another, but through the whole people obtaining in its language a medium of expression and understanding by means of which it was in a position /30/ to take part in the further cultural development of the world. Both problems are conditional on each other and are only mutually soluble. The further development of the Lithuanian literary language involves, therefore, a problem just as much sociological as linguistic, unless one wanted to create an artificial language for a small circle, the secrets of which would have to remain incomprehensible to the broad masses. But no one thinks of such a thing in Lithuania.

Enormous was the task and tireless the labor that was expended. The problem was not to be solved by one linguist or even by linguistics as such. The development had rather to result through practical life. Who can imagine today the difficulties involved in animating with words a language that, in spite of all its internal richness and beauty, lacked the terms for the necessary articles in a modern office as well as for the furnishing of a city apartment? The rapid economic advance in Lithuania also pushed the linguistic development pitilessly forward, created words and terms and destroyed them again, until gradually that which had been proved remained, became established, and was carried over into the general vocabulary, above all through the press,

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which had to be linguistically creative to a high degree.

Thus the development of the Lithuanian literary language, if only in the speed with which it was effected, -- something similar applies, mutatis mutandis, to Lettish and Esthonian-- implies actually a revolution that represents something unheard of and unique in the history of languages. A complete terminology had to be created in all conceivable areas of knowledge; it was necessary to increase the expressive potentials for science, technology, and art to an unheard-of extent, to define concepts scientifically, to create nuances, in short to make up in a few years for what among other peoples had come about in organic growth over the course of centuries. The uniqueness of this development and of what has already been achieved has, /31/ it seems to me, not yet fully been grasped by the Lithuanian people, even in its educated classes. And yet this development of the language, together with the revelation of an unexpectedly strong popular will for life, implied a great intellectual advance, the only basis, as we have seen, on which it could be accomplished at all.

If we ask what has been accomplished today, after two decades, we see a large section of the charted course already travelled. The literary language as such has been stabilized like every other language and is spread across the whole country in a unified form through general instruction in the schools. The Slavic admixtures have largely been dropped off and hardly appear any more in the speech of the younger generation. Adaptation to the Western European world languages has made great progress; a scientific language is being formed. The leader in this area was the Lithuanian University. Naturally, this latter development, according to its nature, has not yet been concluded.

It is only natural that the further develop-

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ment of the language in the various areas of intellectual life did not proceed everywhere with the same speed. It was primarily political, educational, and also economic problems which provided the material for the formation of the new literary language since the beginning of the 1880's, and it was in turn the same problems which, together with the objects of external civilization, necessarily became the prominent topics of literary discussion after the founding of the state, while the artistic and poetic element had to play a minor part in the consciousness of the people. Thereby the Lithuanian literary language remained essentially direct, natural, clear and concrete. The transfer of the objective to the spiritual, however, a practise so predominant today in the languages of the West and developed in the subtlest forms by whole generations of poets, has only recently become applicable in Lithuanian for the first time within narrow limits. Everything is still seen concretely; a spiritual feeling for metaphor has not yet been /32/ experienced. Thus in Lithuanian everyday speech one cannot say, to take a few everyday examples from the German language: die wandernden Jahre [the wandering years] (only a person can wander), ein sonniger Mensch [a sunny person] (a room is sunny), klingendes Spiel [sounding play], die versunkene Erinnerung [sunken memory] (a stone sinks in the water), reine Augen [pure eyes] (only an object is pure), in bescheidenen Grenzen, [within modest limits], etc. This spiritual feeling for metaphor, which today has already been transferred in part from the language of the Western poets into the everyday speech of their peoples, cannot now be awakened artificially but presupposes also a psychological transformation. Even in the German language it did not exist in an earlier period. In Lithuanian metaphor has existed from olden times

195 197 where it is a matter of the personification of things. The best proof are the Lithuanian folk riddles: the river runs, the shoes gape, the grain comes home to sleep, etc. In modern Lithuanian poetry we find, on the other hand, the transition to the abstract throughout. Thus, for example, in Balys Sruoga (Saulė ir smiltys):

> Go onto the long
> Road of autumn. . .(p. 111)

or

> . . .the stars which inflamed the heavens
> With the fire of life --
> I do not envy. (p. 62)

In modern poetry--in this connection I refer to the poetic imitations in the last chapter -- the spiritualization of the objective is thus shown in living images. It is to be expected that everyday language, too, will not escape this influence, once recent Lithuanian poetry has penetrated deeper into the people. The more slowly and organically this spiritual transformation process takes place, the richer will be the fruits to be expected from it.(24)

113 24. The most important scientific literature concerning the Lithuanian language of the nineteenth century is listed by Oscar Wiedemann, Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 4-6. In particular may be mentioned: Leopold Geitler, Litauische Studien (Prague, 1875). Adalbert Bezzenberger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache. Auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen, 1877). By the

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178 year 1863 and also flared up at individual spots in Lithuania, led at first to a certain favoring of the Lithuanians above the Poles /229/ by the Russian government. Thus the Lithuanians were granted a gymnasium in Marijampolē and a teacher's seminary in Veveriai. Also, with the ending of serfdom, which took place in 1863 under the imprint of the revolution, the peasants were spared the ransom. A series of favorable circumstances, the natural condition of the soil, the application of the Code of Napoleon, the removal of the mixed field system and the vicinity of East Prussia led to the further result that in the following decades the material, and thereby also the spiritual, development of the peasantry in Suvalkija progressed faster than in the remaining sections of Lithuania. A prosperous peasantry arose here, from whose sons the nucleus of the new Lithuanian educated class was developed. The Russian government, striving to suppress the Polish influence which had shown itself in the revolution of 1863, granted the Lithuanian school graduates scholarships to attend the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, in order to Russify them there, but in any case to remove them from Polish influence. But the development could no longer be held back, the Russification miscarried, and from among the graduates of this gymnasium went forth the first leaders who fought for the right of the people to
• [195] their own cultural development. The predominant position which the area of Suvalkija assumed in this intellectual development--for at first it was only a development--is also illuminated by the fact that the Suvalkijan dialect was made the basis of the literary language which was now gradually formed. What Marijampolē was for the south, Mitau later became for the north, since here too, as a result of the special privileges of the Baltic Germans, the Lithuanian element found a place for independent development.

* 538 204 1883 is the first one that is again decisive for the trend of Lithuanian literature. In March of that year Dr. Basanavičius published in Ragnit the first number of a monthly newspaper with the name Aušra (The Dawn). This newspaper, became the center of the young Lithuanian literature and intelligentsia. It remained neutral with regard to the Poles, and did not actually have a political program. None of its publishers was a politician. They fought for the rights of the Lithuanian language, the Lithuanian schools, and Lithuanian education. The new national consciousness, however, which was the real foundation and prerequisite for all these demands, was carried by this newspaper into the farthest regions of Lithuania. (33) In this lies its decisive sig-

33. Cf. on this point Eduard Hermann, Die litauische Gemeinsprache als Problem der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft (Göttingen, 1929), p. 103: "I have been told by many old Lithuanians how as students they practically devoured the periodicals whose importation to Russia was forbidden so that they could read them only secretly, and how the national idea thus inspired the youth. Through these periodicals many learned Lithuanian for the first time. The essays were often read aloud to friends, since few copies were available."

* 538 204 195 nificance. It became important for a new revival of Lithuanian literature in that it provided a firm basis for a general literary language which had been lacking. There inevitably evolved the necessity of creating a general literary language, understandable to all, out of the numerous Lithuanian dialects. To be sure, this work did not succeed at one stroke, especially since

* 538 204 195 the editors changed and there was no linguist among them. Primarily the manner of writing remained quite varied. (34)

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34. Cf. on this question: P. Jonikas, "Apie Aušros rašomąją kalbą (On the Literary Language of the Aušra) in Vairas, 1933, Vol. V, No. 12, p. 418, where further references are also given; also the already mentioned work of Hermann (fn. 33) in the Abh. d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl., No. 1.

* 538 204 The world of ideas of Aušra stands in a direct relationship to that peculiar world of ideas that we /232/ became acquainted with in observing the Vilna period of Lithuanian romanticism. A romantic concern with the past of the people and their language (translations of poems by Polish romantics) is characteristic of this period. When the present is treated, elegica, thoroughly unrevolutionary moods emerge, as in the simple poem by Maironis, "Lithuanian Misery," contained in No. 6 of the year 1885, which reads:

Great God, dear God,
Say, wherein lies our sin,
Why is the sky dark,
Why do cold winds blow?

Spread over us your wings--
Although we are sinners out of weakness,
Protect us and make us one,
For we are your children.

The newspaper Aušra lasted for only three years. The romanticism of an idealized past and national unity demanded the complement of the present. Above all the split in the Lithuanian intelligentsia, mentioned before, which immediately